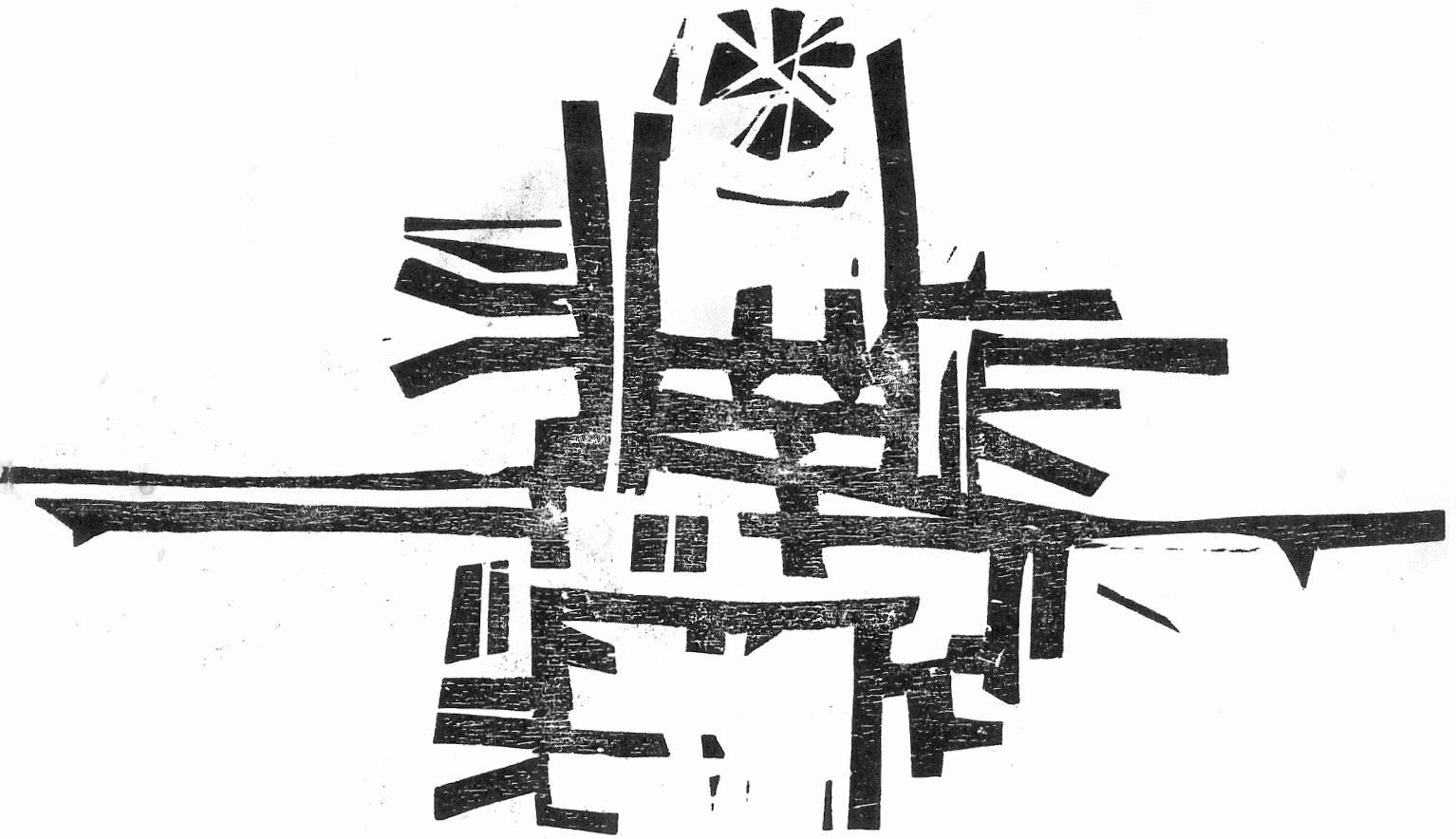
THE ANARCHIST



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the anarchist

THE ANARCHIST is a monthly vehicle for the expression and discussion of anarchist philosophy.

THE ANARCHIST is not responsible for any of the views expressed in its pages.

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THE ANARCHIST welcomes your contributions, critical or otherwise, which may be submitted at the editorial group meetings or to mr. kit guyatt, box 47, p.o. kingsford.

THE ANARCHIST may be obtained at the meetings of the sydney anarchist group at 8 p.m. each monday at 72 oxford street, paddington, from the anarchist platform at 2 p.m. each sunday in the domain, and from some papersellers.

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A N A R C H I S M

Anarchism is a difficult subject to expound, because anarchists reject most of the conventional vocabulary of politics, but fail to provide adequate substitutes. Therefore the words they use are very often ambiguous. However, this is not a mark of weakness or lack of constructiveness, as sometimes alleged. It is true that in a conventional sense anarchists are destructive, because they not only show the defects of society, but try to extirpate them, while refusing to lay down a blueprint for society. This refusal springs from the pluralistic nature of anarchism, which goes so far as to assert that: "Man is the measure of everything".

It is obvious that the building up of an edifice presupposes a blueprint. The blueprint has a definite relation to the material, its shape, sturdiness, content, etc. By analogy, then, constructive "geniuses" want a social blueprint. But can society be identified with an edifice, and individuals with building materials?

Certainly not. Society in its economic, political and cultural manifestations cannot be equated to a building. Society is not only complicated, but multiform. It is relative to the individual and would neither exist nor function, except by and for the individual.

Individual idiosyncrasy, also, changes with any new experience. Therefore, it is a mistake to put the causes of social phenomena on a par with the causes of mechanistic events in nature.

There are anarchists who take journeys through utopias, but even they do not commit themselves; their speculations are vague and unconvincing. And it could not be otherwise, because they, like all anarchists, put the main emphasis on individuals. They consider them more important than any system or systems, and argue for unrestricted individual freedom.

But that is utopian! Anarchist nonsense! Is it? What anarchists mean is that every individual's freedom should be limited not by authority, but only by the individual's experience and the relationships he voluntarily enters into. There is no need for you to be told what to do and what not to do; men do not need prescriptions for their movements, thinking or activities. If they do, it shows their state

of mind to be not that of free men, but of slaves who obey, believe and fight; who are here to fulfil the will of their masters - red or black, divine or human - and never their own. By contrast, anarchism is the philosophy of men able to stand alone and make their own decisions.

Briefly, anarchism can be described as "the philosophy and ideal of individual liberty in human society". But anarchists are not so naive as to think that true liberty is possible without economic independence;"therefore the theory and philosophy of anarchism embrace the ideal of the economic independence of every individual. The conception of individual liberty precludes all social domination and all state coercion; the conception of economic independence precludes every form of exploitation and all special privileges".

"Anarchism differs from the accepted basic principles of socialism in that socialism makes society the provider for individuals; society, through its managers (more correctly bureaucrats), is to provide individuals with all the necessities of life. Anarchism, on the other hand, strives toward that social life in which each individual, alone or in co-operation with others, shall be enabled to provide for himself what he deems necessary". (Dr. J.A. Maryson)

The here and now aspect of anarchism is the promotion of the libertarian trend in society, as against authoritarianism.

Authoritarianism's main stronghold is the state, with its coercive military and police apparatus, judiciary and ligislative bodies. Manifestations of authoritarianism can be seen in all aspects of our social life. There are the huge bureaucratic machines, in which a man's personality is completely lost, and he turns into an obedient tool, obeying orders and executing the will of his superiors. There is the censor, the supervisor, the moralist, the priest, the gaoler, the executioner.

Authoritarianism is prominint in sexual matters. You ought not to read books in which the four letter word is mentioned, because you may learn something about its funcion, and choose vice rather than virtue. Above this you have sexual moralists who would have you not experience pleasurable sensation, not enjoy your own body, but live in inhibition and frustration, preparing for a good married life in which the authoritariam structure of the family is maintained for future generations.

The anarchists stand on the opposite side. Strict subordination of individuals to alleged "group" interests, as interpreted by the state, leads to the most horrible manifestations of authoritarianism, fascism and communism. Anarchism in all its varieties is implacably opposed to this regulation and control of social life by the state. Anarchists stand for full sexual freedom. Freedom to enjoy, to experience, to study, to accept or to reject. Freedom of choice, of expression, of action. In other words anarchists are in the libertarian tradition in society.

J.Grancharoff

P O T S H O T A T A R T H U R

Sydney Anarchists were not responsible for the shooting of the leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Mr Arthur Calwell, on June 21 st. This may be demonstrated by the fact that Peter Raymond Kocan, the would-be assasin, was earlier seen fraternising with D.L.P. and other ultra-right elements at the Mosman Town Hall, where Mr. Calwell had been speaking at a meeting held against the Federal Government's conscription and Vietnam policies.

While affirming their general acceptance of the statement "the only good politican is a dead politician" as a giuding principle, anarchist might possibly with that Kocan's bullet had been aimed at Prime Minister Holt, whose government is specifically responsible for the conscription of Australian youth, and the commital of Australian troops in Vietnam, in this instance.

Anarchists, however, have been horified at the reaction of the capitalist press towards the attempted assasination.

This reaction has attempted to relate the "lawlessness" of a political assasination with the "lawlessness" of those who publically protest against the Holt Government's conscription and Vietnam policies.

The lengths to which the government's lackey press will resort in order to bring discredit on those who disagree with government policy are unbelievable.

The harsh sentencing of 8 youths who were among those taking part in a sit down on the footpath outside the U.S. Consulate in

Wynyard St. in protest against increased bombing of North Vietnam, along with the attempted censorship of Michael Charton's film 'Vietnam -The War and the People' which was screened on ABC television, indicates that the government is not prepared to allow discussion and expression of opinion on its policies?

The youths were fined $ 15 and placed on $ 50 bond for a year.

Equally horifying has been the attempt of the press to paint the political leader in almost sacred colours. Some anarchists would have reservations about the political usefulness of the assassination of a politician under present social conditions. However, the life of one servant of government is negligible when balanced agains the 120,000 victims of the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or the 10 million who died in Hitler's gas ovens. These mass murders were committed by governments - why the hysteria when an attempt is made upon the life of one politician?

This is, by no means,to indicate anarchist support for the Australian Labor Party at the forthcoming federal elections. Judging by the wording of the official A.L.P. policy on Vietnam,which qualifies its promise to withdraw troops with statements that consideration will be given to the safety of troops remaining in Vietnam, and that no action will be taken before consulting the U.S.,(offering at worst, an indication that Australiams war effort will be little more than slowed up, the A.LP. is adopting the traditional ruse of political parties of compromising in an effort to please those of all shades of opinion on the war.

Anarchists realize that no government ever has, or ever will, disarm voluntarily, and that while any government has armed forcess under its control, it will use them. Anarchists realize that governments are to blame for all war, and that without the machinery of government, war would be impossible.

As ardently as the A.L.P. campaigns for an 'anti-conscription' policy, it is interesting to note that, officially, the party is not pledged to abolish conscription, the greatest usurption of individual liberty that society has ever known but only to amend the policy of the Holt government to send conscripts overseas.

'The Anarchist' calls on those citizens of Australia who oppose war, (especially those who oppose Holt's policy of supporting the corrupt, unpopular military dictatorship of Marshall Ky at the cost of some 800 civilian lives each month - the lives of innocent peasants, uncluding women and children) and on those who oppose conscription, not to be duped into voting for the A.L.P., or any other party which merely offers a temporary solution to these particular problems. 'The Anarchist' calls on the citizens of Australia to register their belief that without government there can be no war and no conscription, and to vote informal at the next federal election.

Kit Guyatt

Articles dealing in more detail with anarchist attitudes to conscription and the war in Vietnam will appear in following isses of 'the Anarchist'

'Y O U R W O R L D'

by Bill Dwyer

SIAMESE TWINS

"All the Way with L.B.J." (exulted Harold Holt in Washington) rather sadly reminds the disentangled of the cry of an earlier Prime Minister - "With Britain, right or wrong". Seldom does a man willingly consent to drinking another's piss and eating his shit. The rational explanation would appear to be that Harold is L.B.J.'s poor siamese twin- with his nose irretrievably hinged to the American's arse.

Polite people will be disgusted with the blunt language. A village full of dying Vietnamese and dead peasants, women and children, will not affect their tender sensibilities. But then, we are civilised.

THE ARCHBISHOP

"The Church must give a lead to the life of the community" sermonised Hugh Gough when first appointed to the See of Sydney. While libertarians and progressives have had an uphill battle combating

Hu[illegible] and his Church's eff[illegible] ("sex is sin") to morally corrupt the people, the odd situation has now developed where Hugh's right to sexual freedom has to be defended.

While the hypocrises of the past stand as a massive indictment involving, on the Church's part, double standards and the mass production of masturbators arising from fear and guilt in the sexual lives of adherents, the Church has at last given the lead to freedom in sex that may bring people a happier way of life.

One unlooked-for (by the Churches) result of the dissociation of sex from sin may be a further loss of interest by the people in the Churches. For it is the concept of sin (and damnation) that has given them the powerful hold over the minds of men in the past. If the association of sex with sin is ended, sin itself threatens to become a very short commodity.

$ 530,000,000

Even Sir James Vernon acknowledges the above figure is "a worthwhile and significant" amount. And this is what the Australian worker has lost as a result of the Vernon Report being applied to the Arbitration Commission's decisions.

In 1953 the workers' share of the national income was 65%. The Government of the day decided that this was taking a fair deal for the worker far enough. So the inevitable Royal Commission, was established as a result of which its chairman (Sir James) recommended a policy of wage restraint. As this Commission, comprised largely of employers and their ilk, found itself in full accord with Menzies & Co. Its recommendations were accepted and implemented.

Today the workers' share has dropped to 61% despite assurances that the share would be maintained. Strangely, for a capitalist, Sir James has admitted all this before the recent sittings of the Arbitration Commission. More strangely, the poor worker has taken it all meekly and mildly, The Welfare State has succeeded in reducing the "battler" to the status of an unthinking slave far more effectively than has the blatant oppression of unmitigated capitalism.

Rocking the Boat

The Directors and executive officials of H.G.PALMER Ltd. are currently appearing before the courts charged with offences under the Crimes Act. Amon them are some of Sydney's most prominent citizens such as Sir Norman Nock, a former Lord Mayor; Dr. A.H.Pollard, a university professor; Mr B.J.D. Pge, senior partner in a leading law firm. These men conspired to publish a $1,000,000 prospectus (which raised about $4,000,000) enticing the public to invest in a firm which they knew to be verging on bankruptcy but told the public that it was "gilt-edged".

In the event the firm collapsed, owing $38,000,000. If it had not collapsed would the accused be now in court? What is their real crime? To those who have studied capitalism sufficiently to understand the deceits and brutality which are necessary to its success it must seem very hollow that these men are how charged with just this deceit and brutality(widows' and pensioners' savings were among the losses).

To anyone with the slightest egree of perception it must be obvious that Nock & Company's crime is the failure to make money - resulting in an undermining of the system.

Vietnam Wail

The lily-livered goons who are now donning the Queen's uniform to murder in Vietnam plead, when they are not bursting with chauvinistic pride, that the Government has conscripted them and they are merely carrying out orders.

This very plea was made at Nuremberg by the Nazi war criminals and rejected. It was then maintained that an individual had a large measure of personal responsibility for his actions. This very argument is being used by thinking young people in the United States with devastating effect- moral issues can carry great strenght even against the dumb brutal strength of the police and government.

Albert Einstein, a champion of peace as well as a great scientist, said: "The people themselves must take the initiative to see to it that they will never again be led to the slaughter. To expect protection from their governments is folly." While 500,000 sheep lined the streets of Sydney to watch the political teddy boys parade their subservience to Holt and his criminal policies in Vietnam one coura-

geous girl marched through them covered in red paint(symbolic of the blood of innocent victims). The Press bewailed their soiled uniforms- the same yellow press which lauds the military louts' aggression.

If you are in some doubt as to what your attitude should be perhaps Einstein's advice will solve your dilemma: " I would unconditionally refuse all war service".

News from the Kremlin

Leberalisation of the massive Soviet dictatorship brings some strange revelations and parallels (for the perceptive). Pravda now tells us that the workers are shortly going to be granted the right to strike. This right has often been imperilled and withdrawn in the West, yet somehow it has survived as an inevitable expression of class dissension. It is interesting to learn from a first hand authority (Pravda) that class dissensions in the Russian Utopia also require some expression.

Following the recent gaoling of two Soviet authors there has been something of a witch-hunt of anti-communist propagandists. Production at one factory was held up while an investigation was being held into the plastering of the toilet walls with "unpatriotic"slogans. In the West where sexual repression is rife the public shit-house has also become the last bastion of democracy.

News from the Capitol

General Holland M. (rightly referred to as "Howlin' Mad") Smith has called for the use of atom bombs to win the war in Vietnam. He says it cannot be won without them. It seems, with the bombing of Hanoi, that L.B.J. is coming around to this way of thinking. Could be that old Texan will change his name to Goldwater.

D E M O C R A C Y O R A N A R C I S M

Many people may wonder at this title, and ask whether any comparison is possible between Democracy and Anarchism, or whether the two terms are incompatible.

What is democracy? In the writings of the famous French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau it is expressed as: " Each of us must put his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and, in our corporate capacity we must receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole... the general will alone can direct the State according to the object for which it was instituted, that is, the common good... It follows that the general will is always right and tends to the public advantage. As nature gives each man absolute power over all his members, the social contract gives the body politic absolute power over all its members also, and it is this power, under the direction of the general will, which bears, as I have said, the name of Sovereignty".

From the above we can deduce that the general will is an idealistic concept which is materialized through absolute power. The realiztion of the general will, as distinct from other forms does not necessarily coincide with other definitions of it e.g. these of classical or modern democracies. Anyhow, apart from any theoretical assumptions, the assertions of individual self-government, self-sufficiency, self-reliance etc. are, for modern democracy, concepts relegated to the romantic past.

What is Anarchism? Without quoting any particular source, we can accept its popular meaning as the rejection of the state, law, and external morality; rejection of the general will. The basis of Anarchism is the one real entity, the individual, who. according to the need for self-preservation, enters into voluntarily accepted groups or associations. Or, as John Wakeman pointed out: "Anarchism begins where most systems end- with liberty".

What, then, do we mean by liberty? It is, essentially, the recognition and use by the individual himself of the power he has within him to govern himself and his activities. Such self government has as its corollary, free and unfettered expression of thought. In

a word, freedom is an essential condition of its own becoming.

You might conclude that this is a kind of idealised view of democracy. If it is, it is very far from the kind of democracy we actually know.

Kamenka is right when he writes: " In what genuine sense can we say that the people of a parliamentary country determine its economic policies, its foreign treaties, its education system, etc . , simply because they voted for the government, and could vote against it in the future? On most of these questions, indeed, the voters do not have, and cannot have, any genuine informed opinion".

The anarchist affirmation, that elections are an absurdly futile proceeding, a political farce, and that the majority is but a hidden oligarchy, is not refuted, but reaffirmed. WE may assert that the majority is an historical parody covering unpleasant reality in the valley of the shadow of death, and alleviating the grief of miserable ignorance.

" Democracy-says Kamenka- is rather a specific theory of society and social life as a whole. It is, I think, the rejection of the belief that all social activities should be subordinate to certain controlling powers, whether they claim to represent the people or not. It is an assertion that one should aim at the maximum active and independent participation of citizens in all spheres of social life ... democracy is something which, to a considerable extent, is maintained against the State, rather than by it". This statement could be summarized as follows: Democracy more or less keeps going as a reaction to the State; parliament does not neces - sarily express the will of the majority, and the rights of the ci - tizens depend upon the scale of their direct participation in social affairs.

Even so, democrats have no intention, whatsoever, of destroying the seeds of totalitarianism- the State, and the confusion and disorder we call Laws. And we must bear in mind that the rights of the citizens remain theoretical assupmtions unless the citizens themselves materalize them, so to speak. It follows that a classless society or economic independence, and political independence , or the negation of the State, and the rejection of all "democratic"

institutions is indispensible for the realization of the rights of the citizen.

For democracy implies the State, and the State means power and authority, which, through the organs of the legislative, judicial and executive powers suppresses the rights of the citizens and controls their lives with the deliberate intention of de-humanising them and making them obedient slaves whose duty is unreservedly to accept the orders of their superiors, march up and down, say 'yes' but never 'no' etc.. 'No' is an undemocratic and seditious answer, therefore, it is punishable by law. The case of those who refuse to join the army is an indication of this. The individual conscience as a 'democratic' attribute serves verbalistic purposes and news-paper diatribes.

If people are conscious, in the sense that they are aware of their own interests, then they will use direct action, rather than the State, to achieve their aims. They will self-regulate their lives. They will be adults, not children. They will not need parents, gods, idols, priests, or moralists to reveal to them what is in their interest. Or, in other words, they would not need any kind of authority. But all democrats, from Rousseau on , implicitly or explicitly, present and defend authority, even if under a different name. When purges, massacres and dictatorships occur, and the people's rights are restricted or suppressed altogether, democrats may protest, using various rationalizations, but always insisting on the need for law, the necessity of order, the common good, state or national interests, etc.. In this way they consciously or unconsciously lapse back to Rousseau.

What shall it be then, democracy or anarchism? If we are going to talk about the inalienable rights of citizens, and neglect man- if we pathetically admire freedom, and let our fellow man be exploited by the strong, and depend for his existence on the benevolence of his master - if we talk about the maximum active and independent participation of citizens in social activities, and then let them be governed - that will be democracy.

But if we desire freedom, and to get it we are prepared to destroy this monstrosity called the State - if we are ready to use direct action and free initiative - if we reject all the substitutes no longer needed by humanity - if we recognise the demos as a real force without authoritarian prefixes or suffixes which hide the eternal social antagonism- if we desire peace, prosperity and tranquility, and repudiate Dachau, the icy caress of death in Siberia, Hiroshima, Vorkuta, Vietnam -- if wish to establish a classless society and assert our human dignity against the masters - if wish to live - that will be anarchism.

Edelweiss

SYDNEY ANARCHIST GROUP

I. THE group advocates a society organised without authority.

II. IT rejects all forms of authoritarianism.

III. IT sees a unity in the whole tradition of anarchism. Consequentlly, it does not repudiate or exclusively embrace any school of thought or branch of activity within the movement. It recognises that different forms of action are appropriate to varying social conditions. It asserts its right to persue any form of activity it sees fit and the right of different groups of individuals within the group to undertake such forms of activity as they see fit.

IV. IT will endeavour within its own organisation to mirror and reproduce the society it is working to achieve.

V. IT proclaims the ideal of a society based firstly, on LIBERTY for the individual to achieve the fullest development of his or her personality uncurbed by human authority and privilege; secondly, on EQUALITY in that the wealth of society may be aqually accessible to all; and thirdly, on FRATERNITY so that all, inspired by Mutual Aid, might contribute to society what they are capable of, realising that the welfare of each is bound to the material good of all.

As anarchists reject all dogmas none of the group's statements have any binding force on anyone.

THE SYDNEY ANARCHIST GROUP MEETS AT 8 P.M. EACH MONDAY AT 72 OXFORD STREET, PADDINGTON. ALL ARE WELCOME TO ATTEND.

FORTHCOMING ACTIVITIES --

JULY 25 - Group re-examination and re-organisation.
AUGUST I - "The pop-folk cult and anti-authoritanism"
- Kit Guyatt.